

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 6 ADDIS ABABA 0175

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM PDIP PINS ET
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLANS

REF: STATE 002794

I. COUNTRY OVERVIEW

ETHIOPIA'S REVOLUTION HAS BROUGHT ABOUT RADICAL SHIFT
INGOVERNMENT IDEOLOGY FROM THAT OF THE HAILE SELASSIE
EMPIRE. WITH STRONG MARXIST-LENINIST INFLUENCE, GOVERNMENT
TRANSFORMED PROPERTY RIGHTS AND PRICING POLICIES IN FAVOR
OF PEASANTRY, SHIFTED DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES IN FAVOR OF
RURAL POOR, AND SOUGHT TO INVOLVE URBAN AND RURAL "MASSES"
IN BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ON AN UNPRECEDENTED
SCALE. AT SAME TIME, BEING INFLUENCED BY "DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL-
IST" ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY, AND INVOLVED IN A RUTHLESS
STRUGGLE FOR POWER WITH ITS OPPONENTS, GOVERNMENT HAS SUB-
SEQUENTLY USED NEARLY ALL ORGANIZATIONS, FROM CENTRAL GOVERN-
MENT DOWN TO LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS, AS MEANS FOR
ENSURING POLITICAL LOYALTY AND LITERALLY ELIMICATING OPPO-
NENTS. WITH ADDED PROBLEM OF WAR IN OGADEN, AND CONTINUED
SECESSIONIST STRUGGLE IN ERITREA, MILITARIZATION OF GOVERN-
MENT HAS INCREASED, AND USE OF ARBITRARY ARREST, VIOLENCE,
EXECUTION AND PROLONGED DETENTION HAS BECOME A MORE COMMON
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WEAPON OF GOVERNMENTAL INTIMIDATION AND CONTROL. OPPOSITION
FORCES HAVE SIMILARLY USED TERRORISM AND ASSASSINATION AS
THEIR PRINCIPAL WEAPONS.

INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON: GOVERNMENT AND ITS OPPONENTS
HAVE BEEN MOST NOTORIOUS IN VIOLATING THIS CATEGORY OF RIGHTS.
WHILE THERE ARE RELATIVELY FEW REPORTS OF TORTURE, THERE IS

WIDESPREAD USE BY GOVERNMENT OF ARREST, DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGES, SEARCH AND SEIZURE WITHIN THE HOME, EXECUTION ON-THE-SPOT OR IN PRISON, AND A LACK OF ATTENTION TO TRIALS -- INDEED SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS ARE ONLY REAL RECOURSE FOR RELEASE OF INNOCENT PERSONS, AND THESE INVESTIGATIONS ARE THEMSELVES OFTEN LONG DELAYED. OPPONENTS OF REGIME -- ESPECIALLY EPRP -- ENGAGE IN TURN IN (A) REGULAR CAMPAIGN OF ASSASSINATION, TERRORISM, AND INTIMIDATION, AFFECTING ANYONE WHO WORKS FOR OR EVEN INDIRECTLY PARTICIPATES IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, EMG., AGAINST STUDENTS WHO SEEK TO ATTEND SCHOOLS OR TAKE EXAMINATIONS.

GOVERNMENT ARGUES THAT IN FACE OF THE TERRORIST CAMPAIGN IT MUST RESORT TO BRUTAL OR SEEMINGLY ARBITRARY ACTIONS. YOUNG PEOPLE ARE PARTICULARLY UNDER SUSPICION AS PRIMARY SOURCE OF OPPOSITION RECRUITS FOR ASSASSINATION, SABOTAGE, OR ANTI-GOVERNMENT AGITATION. LACKING "SOPHISTICATED" INVESTIGATIVE TECHNIQUES, GOVERNMENT RELIES ON INFORMERS' CHARGES, SEIFT REPRISALS, PERIODIC HOUSE SEARCHES, AND "EXAMPLE" (I. E., EXECUTIONS).

IN WAR TORN AREAS, E.E., THE OGADEN AND ERITREA, GOVERNMENT HAS ALTERNATED BETWEEN APPEALS TO LOCAL POPULATION AND BRUTAL MILITARY REPRISALS. HARD INFORMATION ON TREATMENT OF CIVILIAN POPULACE, AS OPPOSED TO ARMED OPPONENTS, IS DIFFICULT TO COME BY. HOWEVER, OVER MANY
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YEARS OF THE ERITREA STRUGGLE, THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF BOMBING OR OTHER REPRISALS ON SUSPECTED ENEMY VILLAGES AND OCCUPIED TOWNS, MOST RECENTLY KEREN AND TESSENYE. IN OGADEN, GOVERNMENT HAS APPARENTLY GIVEN SHORT SHRIFT TO TAKING OF PRISONERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS REGARDING SAME.

FULFILLMENT OF VITAL NEEDS. GOVERNMENT'S SWEEPING LAND REFORM OF 1974-75, THE INCREASE IN PRICES PAID TO FARMERS, AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF FARMERS' ASSOCIATIONS WHICH OFTEN DO THEIR OWN MARKETING, HAVE TOGETHER GIVEN THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION A TREMENDOUS

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BOOST (AT VERY LEAST A DOUBLING) IN INCOME, FOOD AVAILABILITY AND CONTROL OVER THEIR MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD. LARGE INCREASES IN THE CAPITAL BUDGETS OF AGRICULTURE AND HEALTH WERE ALSO MADE, BEGINNING IN 1975, TO BRING MORE SERVICES TO RURAL AREAS. EDUCATION AND HEALTH PROGRAMS NOW REACH MUCH MORE TO RURAL PEASANTRY, ALTHOUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF PARA-PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND NATIONAL OUT-REACH EFFORTS HAS BEEN LIMITED BY LACK OF TRAINED MANPOWER, POLITICAL FACTORS (CHANGE OF MINISTERS, PURGE OF BUREAUCRACIES), AND MORE RECENTLY BY COMPETING DEMANDS OF WAR FRONT. OVERALL, INCOME INEQUALITIES, MALDISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS, AND GROSS CORRUPTION HAVE ALL BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED BY CURRENT GOVERNMENT, AND ALL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS ARE AIMED, WHATEVER PROBLEMS EXIST IN IMPLEMENTATION, AT THE VAST MAJORITY OF RURAL POOR.

GOVERNMENT'S RELIEF AND REHABILITATION COMMISSION IS ONE OF MOST ADVANCED DISASTER RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD. IT HAS ACTED QUICKLY TO ALLEVIATE FOOD SHORTAGES IN ETHIOPIA'S MOST ISOLATED AND POOREST REGIONS AND TO ASSIST DISPLACED PERSONS FROM OGADEN FIGHTING.

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CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES. RECORD ON THIS IS SHARPLY DIVIDED. TO MANY UNEDUCATED, FORMERLY POWERLESS WORKERS AND FARMERS, GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY TO FORM ASSOCIATIONS, ADJUDICATE LOCAL DISPUTES, OBTAIN IMPROVED LABOR PRACTICES, AND MANAGE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. TODAY, A LOCAL UNION OF CUSTODIAL WORKERS OR A NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION CAN BLOCK EXIT PLANS OR CHANGE OF VENUE FOR A RESIDENT EMPLOYER REGARDLESS OF LATTER'S NATIONALITY

OR EVEN POSITION. ON OTHER HAND, CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES SUCH AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY ARE SEVERELY CURTAILED. ALL PRESS, RADIO AND TV ARE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AND ALLOW NO DEVIATION FROM GOVERNMENT'S PROPAGANDA LINE; INDEED, MEDIA ARE MORE PROPAGANDISTIC THAN INFORMATIVE. ANY UNAUTHORIZED ASSEMBLY, PARTICULARLY IF ON POLITICAL MATTERS, IS SUBJECT TO VIOLENT SUPPRESSION -- PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE SIMPLY INFEASIBLE IN THE INFLAMED ATMOSPHERE OF TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM (ONE SIDE OR OTHER WILL USE SUCH ASSEMBLY TO PROVOKE CONFRONTATION). NO OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUPS, OR EVEN INDEPENDENT STUDENT OR LABOR GROUPS, ARE PERMITTED. WHAT POLITICAL COMPETITION EXISTS IS BETWEEN SANCTIONED MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS, OR THROUGH CLANDESTINE ACTIVITY. RIGHT TO FOREIGN TRAVEL IS SEVERELY CURTAILED, ESPECIALLY AS SO MANY EDUCATED ETHIOPIANS HAVE LEFT WITHOUT PLANS TO RETURN. INTERNAL TRAVEL IS SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY SECURITY AND PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES, SOMETIMES EVEN BY LOCAL FARMERS' AND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS, AND TO ROAD CHECKS AND SEARCHES.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM HAS BEEN ENHANCED BY GOVERNMENT'S ENDING OF ORTHODOX CHURCH'S OFFICIAL RECOGNITION AS CONFIDENTIAL

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STATE CHURCH AND BY EQUALITY ACCORDED TO MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN HOLIDAYS IN A COUNTRY TRADITIONALLY "CHRISTIAN" BUT IN FACT PERHAPS AS MUCH AS 50 PERCENT MOSLEM. HOWEVER, WITH A STRONG MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY, GOVERNMENT MAY WELL BE UNHAPPY WITH THE STRONG RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AMONG THE POPULATION. NO ANTI-RELIGION ACTIONS, HOWEVER, HAVE YET BEEN TAKEN, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF EXPROPRIATION OF CHURCH-OWNED RURAL AND URBAN PROPERTY.

II. MAJOR U.S. INTERESTS

1. ENHANCEMENT OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE AT HIGH LEVELS WITH EMPHASIS ON REDUCTION OF ETHIOPIAN SUSPICIONS OF U.S. MOTIVES AND ON BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SEVERAL CONVERGENT AND COMPATIBLE INTERESTS. PROGRESS ON THIS INHIBITED BY LACK OF AMBASSADOR, AND BY GENERALLY NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS, E.G., OVER ARMS SUPPLY, HUMAN RIGHTS, SENATE REJECTION RURAL ROADS PROJECT, ETC.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 6 ADDIS ABABA 0175

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2. ASSOCIATION OF US WITH POSITIVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION. US HAS MADE REASONABLE PROGRESS WITH DEVELOPMENT MINISTRIES, BUT SENATE ACTION ON RURAL ROADS, INCREASED CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AND DELAYS IN CONCLUDING AID AGREEMENTS (DUE TO BOTH SIDES) HAVE REDUCED IMPACT.

3. TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES IN OGADEN CONFLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA THROUGH OAU, UN, OR OTHER GOOD OFFICES; TERMINATION OF THE ETHIO-ERITREAN CONFLICT. US HAS REFRAINED FROM SENDING ARMS TO EITHER ETHIOPIA OR SOMALIA AND HAS INDICATED STRONG SUPPORT OF OAU INITIATIVES FOR PEACE IN OGADEN. US HAS INDICATED TO GOVERNMENT OUR SUPPORT OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WHILE AT SAME TIME SUGGESTING TO POTENTIAL AFRICAN MEDIATORS NEED TO FIND MEANS ALSO TO ALLEVIATE LONG-RANGE PROBLEMS OF SOMALI ETHNIC AND ERITREAN RESISTANCE TO ETHIOPIAN CONTROL. US INFLUENCE IS GREATLY LIMITED, HOWEVER, BY ETHIOPIAN DETERMINATION TO PUSH OUT INVADING SOMALI FORCES PRIOR TO ANY NEGOTIATIONS OF OGADEN AND WILLINGNESS OF USSR TO GIVE ETHIOPIA VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED CONVENTIONAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR THIS PURPOSE AS WELL AS FOR MILITARY ACTION IN ERITREA.

4. PREVENTION OF OR AT LEAST REDUCTION OF SOVIET/CUBAN DOMINATION OF ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS; SIGNIFICANT RE-
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DUCTION OF SOVIET/CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA, AND DENIAL OF ETHIOPIAN TERRITORY FOR SOVIET AND CUBAN NAVAL AND /OR MILITARY BASES. US HAS ATTEMPTED TO WARN ETHIOPIANS

OF DANGERS OF OVER-RELIANCE ON SOVIETS. US HAS ALSO MADE CUBAN PRESENCE AN ISSUE IN US-CUBAN NORMALIZATION DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT NOTABLE SUCCESS.

5. GREATER ETHIOPIAN ADHERENCE TO GENERALLY ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS; GREATER GOVERNMENT AWARENESS OF IMPLICATIONS FOR ITS OWN INTERESTS IN ADHERING TO THESE STANDARDS. US HAS CUT OFF MILITARY ASSISTANCE, HAS ABSTAINED ON TWO IBRD LOANS, MADE SEVERAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS, DENIED (BY SENATE ACTION) LARGEST RECENT AID PROJECT, AND ENGAGED GOVERNMENT IN NUMERUS INTENSE DISCUSSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. TO DATE, THESE ACTIONS HAVE HAD NO POSITIVE EFFECT, EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR MAKING ETHIOPIANS MORE CONSCIOUS (BUT ALSO MORE DEFENSIVE) ABOUT ISSUE. AS DEMONSTRATED BY RECENT INTENSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT VIOLATIONS OF INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS ARE DOMINANT CONCERN IN GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS, WITH INTERNATIONAL OPINION QUITE SECONDARY, INDEED RESENTED.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS

A. OBJECTIVES: US CONCERN MUST REST HEAVILY ON FIRST AND THIRD CATEGORIES FOR THESE ARE BEING VIOLATED MOST SERIOUSLY. AT SAME TIME, CONTINUED ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT'S POSITIVE ACTIONS ON THE SECOND, I.E., FULFILLMENT OF VITAL NEEDS, WILL IMPROVE OUR POSITION AND OUR INFLUENCE. IN DEVELOPING AN ACTION PLAN, NEVERTHELESS, TWO PRINCIPAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE: (I) LIMITED INFLUENCE OF US ON CURRENT ETHIOPIAN SCENE AND (II) SUSPICION OF OUR MOTIVES. OUR STRATEGY MUST HUSBAND OUR LIMITED INFLUENCE, CONFIDENTIAL

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USING IT IN MAJOR WAY FOR ONLY HIGHEST PRIORITY CONCERNS, AND IN A WAY THAT DOES NOT CONFUSE ETHIOPIANS AS TO OUR MOTIVE. WITH PARTICULAR RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WE MUST BE CAREFUL THAT OUR ACTIONS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE DISGUISED SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA WHICH HAS USED ALLEGED ETHIOPIAN BRUTALITY AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR SUPPORT OF SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS AND WARFARE AGAINST ETHIOPIAN STATE. OF OUR MOTIVES ARE MISUNDERSTOOD, OUR EFFECT WILL BE NIL, INDEED POSSIBLY NEGATIVE.

SHORT-TERM: A CESSATION OF GOVERNMENT INTIMIDATION THROUGH SUCH PRACTICES AS HOUSE SEARCHES, ARRESTS, EXECUTION, AND DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGES. THESE ARE MOST GROSS VIOLATIONS AND OUTRANK ALL OTHERS. ON

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POSITIVE SIDE, ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT TO MEET ITS
EQUITABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GOALS.

MEDIUM-TERM: A GRADUAL RELAXATION OF DEMAND FOR
EXTREME LOYALTY AND TOP-DOWN CONTROL OF EVERY POPULAR
ORGANIZATION, I.E., A GRADUAL GROWTH OF PLURALITY AND
GREATER POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT.

LONG-TERM: GROWTH OF A DYNAMIC POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH THE NEWLY ACQUIRED LAND AND
OTHER ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE PEASANTRY BECOME CON-
SOLIDATED AND ARE NOT SUBJECTED TO COERCIVE PRESSURES
TOWARDS INVOLUNTARY COLLECTIVIZATION OR TRANSFORMATION
INTO STATE FARMS.

B. SCENARIO: NEXT SIX MONTHS

1. CLARITY OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POSITION:

(A) WE MUST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISH IN OUR APPROACHES
BETWEEN VIOLENCE OF WAR AND VIOLENCE OF INTERNAL
POLITICAL DISSIDENCE AND REPRESSION. WHILE BOTH ARE
DEPLORABLE, THEY ARE OF ENTIRELY DIFFERENT CHARACTER.
FROM STRICTLY "HUMAN RIGHTS" POINT OF VIEW, WE SHOULD
STRESS SECOND (TREATING FIRST IN TERMS OF PEACEFUL
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SOLUTIONS TO OGADEN AND ERITREA PROBLEMS).

(B) WE MUST ACCOUNT FOR THE SEVERAL SOURCES OF

INTERNAL POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VIOLENCE IN ETHIOPIA AND BE PREPARED TO CONDEMN TERRORISM FROM EVERY SIDE, GOVERNMENTAL AND ON-GOVERNMENTAL. THIS WILL STRENGTHEN OUR CREDIBILITY WITH GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS TRULY FRIGHTENED OF TERRORIST CAMPAIGN, AND WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH U.S. ATTITUDES ON TERRORISM ELSEWHERE.

(C) WE MUST CONTINUE SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS. THIS IS ONLY CONSISTENT POSITION ON TOTAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN A COUNTRY AS POVERTY-STRICKEN AS ETHIOPIA.

2. ENLIST OTHER WESTERN SUPPORT.

WE HAVE BEGUN TO SOLICIT SUPPORT OF OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS FOR OUR CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS.

(A) WE ARE VERY LIKELY TO OBTAIN SUCH SUPPORT FROM SWEDEN, WHICH IS AN IMPORTANT DONOR TO ETHIOPIA. SWEDEN'S EXPRESSION OF CONCERN WILL NOT BE SEEN AS PART OF A COLD WAR TACTIC. OUR INFLUENCE WITH SWEDEN WILL BE GREATER IF WE, LIKE SWEDEN, CONTINUE OUR SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA'S SWEEPING SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR THE MAJORITY EVEN AS WE DEPLORE ITS ACTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS OF SUSPECTED DISSIDENTS.

(B) AN EVEN MORE USEFUL ALLY WOULD BE THE EC. ETHIOPIA HAS GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS TO ENCOURAGE EC ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND EC HAS RESPONDED WITH FAIRLY SIGNIFICANT COMMITMENT. IF EC WOULD MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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HUMAN RIGHTS PART OF ITS DIALOGUE WITH ETHIOPIA, IT COULD BE MORE HELPFUL PERHAPS THAN U.S. DEMARCHES.

3. ENCOURAGE INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN CONCERN.

AFRICAN NATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN INCLINED TO MAKE HUMAN RIGHTS AN ISSUE IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ANOTHER AFRICAN STATE. MOREOVER, OGADEN AND ERITREA WARS ARE ISSUES OF GREATER CONCERN TO THEM AS FAR AS ETHIOPIA IS CONCERNED. THE SAME RELUCTANCE HOLDS TRUE FOR THE OAU, ALTHOUGH A MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS (OF SORTS) EXISTS BETWEEN OAU CONCERNS FOR ITS MEMBERS' SAFETY IN ADDIS AND ETHIOPIANS' CONCERN OVER LOSS OF PRESTIGE IF OAU RELOCATES ELSEWHERE.

4. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

(A) IFI'S. U.S. ABSTENTION ON IBRD LOANS IN MAY

ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS CAUSED MORE CONFUSION AND
CONSTERNATION THAN POSITIVE IMPACT. ETHIOPIA TOOK
EXCEPTION TO USE OF IFI'S FOR "POLITICAL" PURPOSES;
MORE IMPORTANT, GOVERNMENT SUSPECTED OUR MOTIVE WAS
REALLY TO FIND AN EXCUSE FOR ENDING OUR OWN BILATERAL
(AS WELL AS MULTILATERAL) ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS. ALSO CONFUSING WAS U.S.
ABSTENTION ON AN AFDB LOAN IN SEPTEMBER ON COM-
PENSATION GROUNDS; IT APPEARED THAT THE U.S. WAS
SIMPLY ATTACKING ETHIOPIA PER SE FROM SEVERAL DIRECTIONS.

FOR THE NEXT SIX MONTHS, THE U.S. POSITION SHOULD
BE CONSISTENT AND CLEAR. WE SHOULD VOTE FOR UPCOMING
IBRD LOANS FOR ETHIOPIA, BECAUSE IT WILL CLARIFY OUR

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SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA AS PART
OF OUR TOTAL HUMAN RIGHTS POSITION. MOREOVER, IT
WILL PERMIT OUR BILATERAL PROGRAM TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE.
OUR LARGEST PROJECTED AID PROJECT IN FY 78, THE
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR GRANT, IS TIED DIRECTLY TO THE
IBRD'S MINIMUM PACKAGE PROJECT, WHICH WILL ONLY GO
FORWARD ONCE THE GRAIN MARKETING PROJECT HAS BEEN
APPROVED.

IN VOTING FOR IFI LOANS, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE IN-
CUMBENT FOR U.S. TO STATE AGAIN ITS CONCERNS ON HUMAN
RIGHTS. THESE STATEMENTS MIGHT BE LOW-KEY, AND
GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ADVISED IN ADVANCE OF THEIR
CONTENT. SUCH STATEMENTS MAY CONTINUE TO ANGER
ETHIOPIANS BUT LESS SO IF WE HAVE CONSISTENT POLICY
OF VOTING IN FAVOR OF DEVELOPMENT LOANS. AT SAME
TIME, FAILURE OF THE U.S. TO CLARIFY ITS REASONS,

AND ITS HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, ON THE OCCASION OF SUCH VOTES COULD CONFUSE CONGRESS AND PRODUCE A BACKLASH THAT WOULD CRIPPLE OUR STRATEGY.

(B) BILATERAL. BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BUILT UP A SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL PROGRAM IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE LITTLE CURRENT LEVERAGE. OUR FY 77 PROGRAM WAS LESS THAN \$1 MILLION, LOWEST IN 25 YEARS. SENATE
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ACTION REJECTING RURAL ROADS PROJECT FOR FY 78 REGISTERED U.S. CONCERN OVER POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS, BUT IT ALSO LEFT US WITH LESS OF A ROLE IN ECONOMIC SPHERE, I.E., THE GOVERNMENT NO LONGER BELIEVES WE WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT DONOR ANYWAY. CONSEQUENTLY, WE WOULD DO BEST TO TRY TO BUILD UP TO A PROGRAM OF \$10 - 14 MILLION IN FY 78 BOTH AS DEMONSTRATION OF OUR REPEATED EARNESTNESS TO ASSIST AND AS A MEANS OF HAVING SOMEWHAT MORE INFLUENCE. PART OF OUR NEGOTIATING STYLE, HOWEVER, WILL BE TO REITERATE TO GOVERNMENT CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC, AS WELL AS EXECUTIVE, CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH WILL MAKE PROGRAMMING IN FY 79 HIGHLY PROBLEMATIC UNLESS SOME IMPROVEMENTS ARE NOTED.

IN TWO AREAS, WE SHOULD CONDITION OUR RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS. ONE IS RESUBMISSION OF THE RURAL ROADS PROJECT TO CONGRESS AS PROPOSED BY STATE/AID. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR TO ETHIOPIANS WE ARE WILLING ONLY IF THERE ARE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SITUATION WHICH WE CAN DESCRIBE TO CONGRESS. THE SECOND IS PL 48. ETHIOPIANS MAY REQUEST CONCESSIONAL IMPORTS OF WHEAT IN FY 78 OR 79. LIKE RURAL ROADS, SUCH A REQUEST WILL RAISE NEW QUESTIONS ON THE HILL. WE SHOULD USE ANY SUCH REQUEST TO RENEW OUR CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO SEEK APPROVAL ONLY ON CONDITION OF IMPROVEMENTS IN SITUATION.

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C. SCENARIO: MONTHS 7 - 12

1. IF THERE ARE NO IMPROVEMENTS:

(A) WITHDRAWAL FROM NEW BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS
PLANNED FOR FY 79, EXCEPT EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN AID.

(B) STEPPED UP ACTION TO OBTAIN WESTERN AND AFRICAN
LEVERAGE ON GOVERNMENT.

(C) ABSTAINING ON IFI LOANS THAT DO NOT DIRECTLY HELP
THE POOR, OR WHICH HAVE A PRIMARY IMPACT ON THE GOVERNMENT'S
FX POSITION (E.G., COFFEE PRODUCTION).

2. IF THE SITUATION GETS WORSE:

(A) CONSIDERATION OF TRADE EMBARGO ON ETHIOPIAN COFFEE

(B) CONSIDERATION OF CANCELLATION OF DISBURSEMENTS
UNDER EXISTING BILATERAL PROGRAMS.

3. IF THERE ARE IMPROVEMENTS:

(A) READINESS TO ADD TO OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC PROGRAM,
E.G., PL 480, RURAL COADS, ETC.
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(B) PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

(C) ENCOURAGEMENT OF ADDITIONAL CONSORTIUMS FOR
ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENT, E.H., FOR OGADEN AND DEPRESSED
WOLLO/TIGRE AREAS.

D. IMPACT ON OTHER POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

ABOVE STRATEGY REQUIRES DOWNPLAYING USE OF OUR INFLUENCE
(VOTES IN IFI'S, ETC.) ON OTHER ISSUES LIKE COMPENSATION,

OVER NEXT SIX MONTHS AT LEAST. THESE OTHER INTERESTS CAN BE PURSUED QUIETLY AND ROUTINELY, BUT PLACING THEM FRONT AND CENTER WILL ONLY BLUR HUMAN RIGHTS MESSAGE.

RE SOVIET/CUBAN INFLUENCE, ABOVE STRATEGY SUGGESTS WE CRITICIZE SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT MORE ON ITS CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNAL VIOLENCE (FROM BOTH GOVERNMENT AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT SIDES) THAN TO WAR IN THE OGADEN. THIS APPROACH WOULD LIKELY BE MORE EFFECTIVE WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, WHICH SUPPORT ETHIOPIA'S RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR THAT PURPOSE. IT MIGHT ALSO HELP CLARIFY OUR INTENTIONS WITH THE ETHIOPIANS WHICH CONTINUES TO BELIEVE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS ARE ONLY A COVER FOR GENERAL ANTI-SOCIALIST MOTIVES. ON OTHER HAND, TYING OUR CRITICISM OF SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT LARGELY TO INTERNAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS COULD BLUNT OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE AFRICAN CONCERN OVER SOVIET INTENTIONS IN THE WHOLE OF HORN AND EAST AFRICA.

IN TERMS OF DIALOGUE WITH HIGH-LEVEL ETHIOPIAN OFFICIALS, ABOVE STRATEGY SUGGESTS CONTINUED PRESENCE OF NEGATIVE THEMES. HOWEVER, IF WE EQUALLY CONDEMN ANTI-GOVERNMENT

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TERRORISM ALONG WITH GOVERNMENT REPRESSION, IF WE ARE CLEAR ON OUR SUPPORT OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS FOR THE POOR MAJORITY, AND IF WE OVERCOME THE LINK TO PURELY IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVES, DIALOGUE SHOULD PROGRESS TOWARD BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IF NOT WARMTH.

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Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ADDIS00175
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780019-1215
Format: TEL
From: ADDIS ABABA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780168/aaaacfqf.tel
Line Count: 636
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 1635fce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY, STADIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Reference: 78 STATE 2794
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3782164
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLANS
TAGS: SHUM, PDIP, PINS, ET
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1635fce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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